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ANNIVERSARY OF
THE CAPTURE OF
CAMP JACKSON.

1863



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CAMP JACKSON: ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE.

ORATION

OF

CHARLES D.^{aniel} DRAKE,

DELIVERED IN THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS, MAY 11, 1863,



ANNIVERSARY OF THE CAPTURE OF CAMP JACKSON.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED HIS

Reply to the Missouri Republican's Attack

UPON HIM, ON ACCOUNT OF THAT ORATION.



SAINT LOUIS:

PRINTED AT THE MISSOURI DEMOCRAT OFFICE.

1863.

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ORATION.

Great events make anniversaries, and all civilized peoples observe and commemorate them. To St. Louis, now in the hundredth year of its existence, no day has become more memorable than *the tenth day of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-one*; when was witnessed by her citizens, on this spot, within her own corporate limits, the first collision between our noble Union, and those recreant State authorities, which desired and intended to wrest Missouri by violence from the Union's embrace. This generation in St. Louis will not forget that day. The Secessionists of St. Louis will remember it as a day that suddenly nipped the treason of their leaders in the bud; and her patriots will cherish it as the day that rescued them and Missouri from the grasp of traitors, which, once fixed upon her, might not to this hour have been thrown off. History, too, will assign that day a position of prime importance in the course of events succeeding the fall of Sumter; for had the designs which caused the assemblage of citizen-soldiery at Camp Jackson been accomplished, who can estimate the extent of the injury to the Union cause in Missouri, and throughout this great Central Valley? God only knows whether the whole course of the dread conflict which has now been waged for more than two years, might not have been changed, disastrously to our country. Let us then render devout thanks to Him, for the day itself, and for the privilege of meeting here in peace to commemorate it!

You will not, my friends, fail to remember the wild excitement in our city and state, which followed the capture of Camp Jackson, and the use which was, only too successfully, made of that event, to inflame disloyalty and rebellion through all the borders of Missouri. To have attended to what was then said and written in denunciation of the capture, one would have thought that such an outrage as the world had not before known, had been perpetrated upon an innocent body of citizen soldiers, lawfully convened for a laudable purpose; and that those who composed the capturing force were demons in human shape, worthy only of execration in time, and of damnation in eternity; to the latter of which Missouri traitors would gladly and quickly have consigned them—if they could!

As to the character of the soldiery mustered at Camp Jackson, it is not just or true to class them all as traitors, or secessionists, or sympa-

thiziers with secession. While it is impossible to say at this time, even if it could ever have been said, who of the officers and men composing the encampment were loyal to the flag which floated over them, and who were not, it is, I doubt not, strictly true that many were there who were loyal; who were unaware of the infamous designs of those who ordered their assembling; and who would have been deeply shocked, had they been led forth to do the work which the State authorities purposed should be done. Of them, as they were prior to, and upon the day of, the capture of Camp Jackson—not as many of them afterwards became—I would use no other words than those of pity for the unfortunate association which made them the victims of cunning and unscrupulous traitors. But of these there who knew the design of the encampment, and lent themselves to the first organized attempt to array Missouri against the glorious flag under which they were born, and by the protection of which they had lived and prospered, it is enough to say, that more devilish traitors never lived; and that such of them as have not already fallen in the rebel rank, by Union ball or bayonet, should be thankful to their dying hour that the surrender of Camp Jackson saved them from the traitor's ignominious fate, if, indeed, their being saved should be a ground of thankfulness in them, or anybody else on earth. [Applause.]

It is important, my friends, to put on record, so far as an address like this can accomplish it, the true character of that instigated camp, and of the men who planned and executed its capture. Diligent efforts have been made to cover up the truth about it, and to transmit its history to the future in a cloud. One aim of this discourse will be to set forth the simple truth, in connected form, that whosoever may hear or read it, may know assuredly that the suppression of Camp Jackson was not only authorized by the dictates of self-preservation, but was an act of military sagacity and heroism, which will forever stand out prominently in the history of this rebellion. [Applause.] In carrying out this purpose, it will be necessary to present documents of that period, at a somewhat greater length than is usual on such an occasion; but I do not apprehend that you will bestow grudgingly the time and attention which may be requisite to a clear array of the facts of this interesting history.

That Camp Jackson may not be without a hearing at the bar of public opinion, present and future, I will recall and record the larger part of an editorial article which appeared in the columns of the *Missouri Republican*, on the 13th of May, 1861, three days after that of the capture, and which bears evident marks of careful and deliberate preparation. Whatever may have been the impression of our citizens concerning it at the time, it has now, as an item of history, a peculiar interest. It is as follows:

"Now that there is quiet in the city—that the work of 'blood-letting' has ceased for the present—that the grave has opened to receive the dead men, women, and children ruthlessly slaughtered at Camp Jackson on Friday afternoon last—at a time when, possibly, this sacrifice is deemed sufficient to impress the people of St. Louis, and of the State, and the Union with a knowledge of the energy and the power which is to be exerted over all of us—it may be permitted to us, before martial law is proclaimed and, it may be, a censorship of the press established, to review the transactions of the last few days in St. Louis. We propose to confine ourselves to the events connected with the attack upon, and the surrender of Camp Jackson, and the murder of unoffending men, women, and children, which followed that event.

"Camp Jackson was established, as every citizen of Missouri knows, in strict obedience to the laws of this State. A similar encampment, a year ago, excited no remark, except as evidence of a desire on the part of the volunteers to perfect themselves in a system of military tactics which while it rendered them efficient in service also contributed to their health, and to that *esprit de corps*, which is always necessary to success. There is no evidence to show that there was any object beyond these legitimate results in contemplation, when the order was given for the formation of Camp Jackson. Every order, from those of the Commander-in-chief, down to that of each of the companies, has been made public, and not one of them contained the most remote allusion to any other purpose than that of perfection of military discipline, made necessary on the part of Missouri, at this time, by the act that all the other States in the Union were arming, organizing, and disciplining the militia of their respective States. With no other object in view, Camp Jackson was established as a school of discipline and exercise, under the laws of the State. The opening was auspicious. The flag of the United States floated over the entire camp. No other national flag was permitted to be displayed. Thenceforth, the men who formed the camp, each and all of them, had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State. There was no qualification or mental reservation. For at least four days everything went on pleasantly at the camp; thousands of persons, men, women, and children, flocking thither to view the military field, and to interchange civilities with those who occupied it. But it would seem that malignant spirits had determined that this state of things should not be continued and that Camp Jackson must be attacked, and the citizen-soldiery taken prisoners of war, no matter what the pretext might be. Rumors of this kind got wing on Wednes-

day, but they did not fix themselves on the public mind with any distinctness. All knew that the city was loyal to the Union, and that this had been shown in many ways. Still the rumors continued to obtain circulation, and next day they were more prolific than ever. On Friday morning General Frost, in command of his encampment, felt it his duty to address the following note to Captain Lyon, in command of the Arsenal:

'HEADQUARTERS, CAMP JACKSON. }
MISSOURI MILITIA, May 10, 1861. }

'Capt. N. Lyon, commanding United States troops in and about St. Louis Arsenal.

'SIR: I am continually in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp, whilst I understand that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the Arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the militia of Missouri. I am greatly at a great loss to know what could justify you in attacking citizens of the United States who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution, in organizing and instructing the militia of the State in obedience to her laws, and therefore have been disposed to doubt the correctness of the information I have received. I would be glad to know from you personally whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly poured into my ears.

'So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States, or its property or representatives, by any portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn, (and I think I am fully informed), of any other part of the State forces, I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained. On the contrary, prior to your taking command of the Arsenal, I proffered to Major Bell, then in command of the very few troops constituting its guard, the services of myself and all my command, and, if necessary, the whole power of the State, to protect the United States in the full possession of all her property. Upon Gen. Harvey's taking command of this department, I made the same proffer of services to him, and authorized his Adjutant-General, Captain Williams, to communicate the fact that such had been done, to the War Department. I have had no occasion since to change any of the views I entertained at that time, neither of my own volition, nor through orders of my constitutional commander. I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unfortunately afflict our common country.

'This communication will be handed to you by Colonel Bowen, my Chief of Staff, who will be able to explain anything not fully set forth in the foregoing.

'I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

Brig. Gen. D. M. FROST,

'Commanding Camp Jackson, M. V. M.'

"Captain Lyon refused to receive this note. If he had done so, it would have destroyed the programme already resolved upon, and which looked to the capture of Camp Jackson, and the degradation of citizens as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense as brave and chivalric as Capt. Lyon, or any one of his advisers. They were to be disgraced, in order to strike terror into the people of the State; and the flag of the Union which waved over Camp Jackson was to be struck in the presence of men, nine-tenths of whom were born under a foreign flag, and had grown up acknowledging allegiance to the worst and most despotic Governments of Europe."

Such is the contemporaneous vindication of Camp Jackson. It is probably all that could

have been said in its defense. The reader of it, with no other knowledge of the current history of the period, would not hesitate to condemn those "malignant spirits" who planned and executed "the degradation of citizens as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense, as brave and chivalric, as Captain Lyon, or any one of his advisers." But, however the writer of that defense may, at the time, have believed his statements to be true,—which to me, I confess, seems very difficult, in view of the events which preceded the formation of that camp,—subsequent disclosures have established, beyond the possibility of question, that Camp Jackson was a treasonable assemblage, [applause, "That's so."] which required only some increase of strength to have been marched forth to subject Missouri to the domination of traitors, and whirl her off into the destroying abyss of secession.

Let us briefly glance at the march of events in Missouri preceding Camp Jackson.

On the 20th day of December, 1860, South Carolina—may one of the results of this war be, that that name be blotted out, and some other given to the territory it represents!—[tremendous applause]—on that day South Carolina declared her secession from the Union, the very formation of which the great historian of the United States, in a separate chapter, attributes directly to her. As she started on her fiery career, she flung abroad a blazing invitation to the people of the slave-holding States, to join her in forming a Confederacy of such States.

On the 30th day of December, 1860, the Legislature of Missouri met in regular session. Up to that day no response, so far as I now remember, had been heard in this State to South Carolina's demoniac cry.

The next day, however, the proposition was distinctly presented, editorially, in the same public journal [groans for the *Republican*] from which I have quoted the apology for Camp Jackson, that, in a certain contingency, Missouri should follow South Carolina's damning lead. Let us, as a part of the history of the time, record its words, addressed to the Legislature then just convened. They are as follows:

"We assume as a fact beyond dispute, that there is no considerable body of men in this State who desire the dissolution of the Union, for the causes which have up to this time been presented to the country. We maintain now, as we have always maintained, that [the people of] the Northern States have greatly wronged those of the slave States, and that those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the issues between them—any restoration of those kindly feelings which ought to exist between brethren of the same political family. And hence it becomes the duty of the one party to ponder well upon the grievances of which they have cause of complaint, to submit them to the party which has oppressed them, and if they reject them, or

treat them with contempt, thenceforward they will be justified in complete alienation from them. This position being admitted, it will be the duty of the Legislature of Missouri, we humbly submit, to take such steps as will, in the first place, secure the co-operation of the slave States in some definite plan of action, and then to carry out resolutely whatever may be agreed upon. As the first movement of this political drama, it would well comport with the position of Missouri to pass an act, at an early day of the session, calling a Convention of commissioners from all the slave States in the Union, at Baltimore, to consider and decide upon the matters in controversy, and to state explicitly the grievances and aggressions of the North, to which such States will no longer submit. The commission need not be a large one, say one from each electoral district, to be appointed by the Governor. His own sense of the responsibility of his position will dictate to him the propriety of selecting the ablest and purest men in the State—and he will do it. In the same act let provision be made for a State Convention to be elected, and assembled on the call of the Governor, to consider such constitutional amendments as may be proposed by Congress for the settlement of all these difficulties; or, if all constitutional and patriotic expedients should be exhausted before the 4th of March next, THEN TO DECLARE A SEPARATION FROM THE STATES OF THE CONFEDERACY. A commission, such as we have suggested, selected for their wisdom, their regard for the rights of the States, so wantonly trifled with and invaded, coming from States representing the largest population and the most wealth, and which have suffered most from the aggressions of the North—would not fail to agree upon the propositions to be made to the adverse party, and there is every reason to believe that such propositions would be agreed to. If they should not, then the alternative would remain, and the fifteen States would be justified in the eyes of the world in DECLARING SEPARATION FOREVER."

Three days after the publication of these words, CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON was installed Governor of Missouri, and in his Inaugural Address said:

"The destiny of the slave-holding States of this Union is one and the same. So long as a State continues to maintain slavery within her limits, it is impossible to separate her fate from that of her sister States who have the same social organization. * * * Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her to stand by the South."

On the 21st of January, 1861, the Legislature of Missouri passed an act providing for the election, by the people, of delegates to a State Convention; and such delegates were elected, in pursuance thereof, on the following 18th of February, and the body convened on the 28th of that month. Its composition sorely disappointed and vexed the traitors who, with diabolical intent, were plotting to drag Missouri into secession. On the 19th day of March, after mature deliberation, it gave a death-blow to all their hopes, by the adoption, with only one dissenting voice, of the following feeble, but effectual, expression of adhesion to the Union:

"Resolved, That at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Fed-

eral Union; but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles, as will secure the peace, as well as the rights and equality, of all the States."

Here was such a declaration of the direct will of the people of Missouri, as should have silenced her traitors, at least until the Convention should have found the time, hinted at in the resolution, when there should be "adequate cause, to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union." But with a seditious and treacherous Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Legislature, it was not difficult to carry forward those schemes of treason which led on to Camp Jackson, and to all the untold horrors which have fallen upon the people of Missouri, since the day Camp Jackson fell. A few more links and the chain will be complete.

Sumter fell on the 14th of April, 1861. On the following day, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, which had opened its first batteries upon that ill-fated fortress; and on the same day the Secretary of War telegraphed to Governor Jackson a requisition upon Missouri for four regiments of troops.

Two days afterward that Governor replied to the Secretary in these words:

"Your dispatch of the 15th instant, making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary; in its object inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any such unholy crusade."

The public journal previously quoted from, laid before its readers this impudent and insurrectionary dispatch of Missouri's rebel Governor, with the following introduction:

"The *Journal*, of yesterday published the following as the response of Governor Jackson to the demand of Mr. President Lincoln for four regiments of men to aid in subjugating the revolutionary States. Nobody expected any other response from him and the people of Missouri will endorse it. They may not approve of the early course of the Southern States, but they denounce and defy the action of Mr. Lincoln in proposing to call out 75,000 men for the purpose of coercing the seceded States of the Union. Whatever else may happen, he gets no men from the border States to carry on such a war."

The standard of revolt was thus fairly raised on the soil of Missouri. Her Governor resolved that she should "*stand by the South*," though her people, in Convention, had solemnly resolved to stand by the Union. The issue, which brought such deep disaster to that people, was made up, and had to be decided. He determined to invoke the aid of the Legislature, elected in August, 1858, and August, 1860, which he knew he could control, against the Convention elected in February, 1861, which he could not control. Five days after his contumacious reply to the

Secretary of War, he issued his proclamation, requiring the Legislature to convene on the 2d of May, "for the purpose of enacting such laws, and adopting such measures as may be deemed necessary and proper for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia of this State, and to raise the money and such other means as may be required to place the State in a proper attitude of defense." And on the same day he issued a General Order, requiring the military companies throughout the State to go into camp on the 3d of May, and ordering the light battery then attached to the Southwest battalion, and one company of mounted riflemen, including all officers and soldiers belonging to the First District (St. Louis county) to proceed forthwith to St. Louis, and report to General D. M. Frost for duty: all of which, in Governor Jackson's words, was "to attain a greater degree of efficiency and perfection in organization and discipline;" but in Governor Jackson's heart it was to sweep Missouri out of the Union, and into that bastard abortion—the Southern Confederacy. [Applause.] Under this order Camp Jackson was formed. The day before that assigned for its formation, the Legislature met under the Governor's proclamation, and received from him a message, in which he denounced the President's action in calling out 75,000 men, as "unconstitutional and illegal," and proclaimed his treason in the following words:

"The great and patriotic State of Virginia. [laughter,] after having failed in all her efforts to re-adjust the Union, has, at last, yielded in despair, and seceded from the old Federal Union. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, it is believed, will rapidly follow in the footsteps of Virginia; and Kentucky is profoundly moved in this great question. Our interests and our sympathies are identical with those of the slave-holding States, and necessarily unite our destiny with theirs. The similarity of our social and political institutions—our industrial interests—our sympathies, habits and tastes—our common origin and territorial contiguity, all concur in pointing out our duty in regard to the separation which is now taking place between the States of the old Federal Union. In the mean time, it is, in my judgment, indispensable to our safety, that we should emulate the policy of all the other States in arming our people, and placing the State in a proper attitude of defense."

Here, my friends, I close the historical summary of events *preceding* the formation of Camp Jackson. If its recital has interested you as much as its investigation did me, I am not without hope of having contributed to the triumph of truth in regard to the period which has been reviewed. Before proceeding to other facts, allow me a word of comment. I am grievously mistaken, if the historical facts which have been presented do not wholly overthrow the main points in the vindication of Camp Jackson, which I have just laid before you. I cannot agree with the writer of that vindication in

the position that there was, when he wrote, "no evidence to show that there was any object beyond these legitimate results (viz: improvement in military tactics, in health, and *esprit du corps*) in contemplation, when the order was given for the formation of Camp Jackson." In my judgment, the open historical evidence was then conclusive, and remains to this day, and must forever remain, without aid from any other quarter, invincibly conclusive that there was an object in contemplation beyond those; and that that object was, to carry out in Missouri the same ferocious plan of compelling secession by armed force, which had been successfully practiced already in some of the Southern States. I am willing to leave that point to the judgment of impartial history, upon the facts I have already presented, without reference to any yet to be mentioned.

True, as stated in the defense, that "not one order contained the most remote allusion to any other purpose than that of perfection of military discipline:" but who ever expected inchoate treason to advertise itself in military orders? [Laughter and applause.]

True, as stated there, that "the flag of the United States floated over the entire camp:" but it hung there, as it has since often been hung out by St. Louis Copperheads [laughter; "down with the Copperheads!"] to conceal their venomous perfidy to their too forbearing Government and country. May their remaining days in this city be "few and full of trouble!" [Immense applause, and "bully for the trouble."]

True, as stated there, that "no other national flag was *permitted* to be displayed:" but was no other there, ready to be displayed, when the "proper moment" came, as you might probably now find hundreds of such flags in secesh habitations in this city, prepared to be thrown to the breeze "*when Price's army comes?*" [Cries of "he can't do it as long as there is a 'Dutchman' in the city."]

True, as stated there, that "the men who formed the encampment, each and all of them, had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State;" but what signifies a traitor's oath of loyalty? Is he not next of kin "to the father of lies?" ["Certainly."]

But to proceed. Having shown the leading events which preceded the capture of Camp Jackson, let us now see what was in Camp Jackson. On this point I can do no better than present the official language of General HARNY. He resumed command at St. Louis the day after the capture; and on the 14th of May issued a Proclamation to the People of Missouri, in which he used the following words:

"In this connection I desire to direct attention to one subject, which no doubt will be made the pretext for more or less popular excitement. I allude to the recent transactions at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis. It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct, of my predecessor in command of this Department, but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beaurgard; that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander, which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp, which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked *marble*.

"Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty, the people can draw their own inferences, and it cannot be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that encampment. No Government in the world would be entitled to respect, that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations."

True, fearless words! uttered by a veteran soldier, who saw the treason that lurked in Camp Jackson, and did not shrink from exposing it, though the commander of that camp was his near family connection! Is more needed to delineate the real character of that encampment? Not a word more: but the history is not yet complete. I must tax your time to present the final and blasting proof, which, after the flight of Governor Jackson from our seat of government, was, by a most remarkable accident, saved from the burnt and smoking mass of papers, which he committed to the flames, that the evidence of his treason, and that of his instruments throughout the State, might never rise in judgment against them.

You will remember the words of General Frost, addressed to Captain Lyon, in the letter written on the day of the capture, and embodied in the defense of Camp Jackson, previously presented. Hear them again:

"So far as regards any hostilities being intended towards the United States, or its property, or representatives, by a portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn, (and I think I am fully informed) of any other part of the State forces, I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained."

It could hardly be believed that he who wrote thus on the 10th of May, had, on the 15th of the previous month, addressed a letter to Governor Jackson, such as I am about to read to you, and which is the document that escaped the flames at Jefferson City. I would not trespass upon your time by presenting it entire, but that I see no part of it that could well be omitted, and I apprehend there are many thousands of the people of Missouri who have never seen it; for I believe I am right in saying that, though long since given to the world, *it has never been pub-*

lished in the public journal from which the defense of Camp Jackson was quoted. This is the letter:

"St. Louis, Mo., April 15, 1861.

"His Excellency C. F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri:

"SIR: You have doubtless observed by this morning's dispatches, that the President, by calling out seventy-five thousand of the militia of the different States into the service of his Government, proposes to inaugurate civil war on a comprehensive plan.

"Under the circumstances, I have thought it not inappropriate that I should offer some suggestions to your Excellency, in my capacity of commanding officer of the first military district.

"Presuming that Mr. Lincoln will be advised by good military talent, he will doubtless regard this place as next in importance, in a strategic point of view, to Charleston and Pensacola. He will, therefore, retain at the Arsenal all of the troops now there, and augment it as soon as possible. The commanding officer of that place, as you are perhaps aware, has strengthened his position by the erection of numerous batteries and earthworks. You are not, however, aware that he has recently put in position guns of a heavy calibre, to command the approaches to the city by the river, as well as heavy ten-inch mortars, with which he could at any moment bombard our town.

"If, therefore, he is permitted go on strengthening his position, whilst the Government increases his force, it will be but a short time before he will have this town and the commerce of the Mississippi at his mercy. You will readily see how this complete possession and control of our commercial metropolis might, and in all probability would, affect any future action that the State might otherwise feel disposed to take.

"I fully appreciate the very delicate position occupied by your Excellency, and do not expect you to take any action or do anything not legal and proper to be done under the circumstances; but, nevertheless, would respectfully suggest the following as both legal and proper, viz:

"1st. To call the Legislature together at once, for the purpose of placing the State in a condition to enable you to suppress insurrection or repel invasion.

"2d. To send an agent to the Governor of Louisiana, (or further, if necessary,) to ascertain if mortars and siege guns could be obtained from Baton Rouge, or other points.

"3d. To send an agent to Liberty, to see what is there, and put the people of that vicinity on their guard, to prevent its being garrisoned, as several companies of U. S. troops will beat Fort Leavenworth, from Fort Kearney, in ten or fifteen days from this time.

"4th. Publish a proclamation to the people of the State, warning them that the President has acted illegally in calling out troops, thus arrogating to himself the war-making power; that he has illegally ordered the secret issue of public arms (to the number of 5,000) to societies in the State, who have declared their intention to resist the constituted authorities whenever those authorities may adopt a course distasteful to them; and that they are, therefore, by no means bound to give him aid or comfort in his attempt to subjugate, by force of arms, a people who are still free; but, on the contrary, that they should prepare themselves to maintain all their rights as citizens of Missouri.

"5th. Authorize, or order, the commanding officer of the present military district, to form a military camp of instruction at or near the city of St. Louis, to muster military companies into the service of the State, to erect batteries, and do all things necessary and proper to be done to maintain the peace, dignity, and sovereignty of the State.

"6th. Order Colonel Bowen's whole command to proceed at once to the said camp and report to the commanding officer for duty.

"Doubtless, many things which ought to be done will occur to your Excellency which have not to me, and your Excellency may deem what I have suggested as improper or unnecessary. If so, I can only say, that I have been actuated solely by a sense of official duty in saying what I have, and will most cheerfully acquiesce in whatever course your Excellency may lay down for my government.

"I would not have presumed to have advised your Excellency, but for the fact that you were kind enough to express a desire to consult with me upon these subjects on your recent visit to this city.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"D. M. FROST,

"Brig. Gen. Com'g 1st Mil. Dis't of Missouri."

Such was the programme sketched out by this Brigadier General of Missouri Militia—who, be it remembered, had "*taken the oath!*"—[laughter]—to accomplish the infamous purpose of forcing Missouri into rebellion, in open defiance of the solemn action of her Convention less than a month before he wrote! It was carried out in nearly every item, save that of issuing a proclamation. The Legislature was called together; a messenger was sent southward for arms, whose presence there for that purpose was announced, on the 3d of May, in a Southern newspaper; on the 20th of April the ungarded arsenal at Liberty, in Clay county, was delivered up, at the demand of citizens of that county; a military camp of instruction—in treason!—Camp Jackson, was formed on the spot where we are now assembled; Col. Bowen with his command was there; military companies were mustered into the service of the State; and time only was wanting to enable them "to erect batteries, and do all things necessary and proper to be done to maintain the peace, dignity, and sovereignty of the State;" that is, to maintain her peace by plunging her into war; to stain her dignity with the blood of fratricidal conflict; and to prostitute her sovereignty to the destruction of that Union which alone gave her the least title to sovereignty!

The immediate object of intended attack in St. Louis was the Arsenal of the United States, then containing about sixty thousand stand of arms, with large accumulations of munitions of war; which, once in traitorous hands, would have furnished to the then unarmed rebels of Missouri, the means of overpowering at every point all resistance to their desperate designs. In all the history of the rebellion there can be found no instance of more infatuated audacity. To form an encampment within the very corporate limits of a city of one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants,—the commercial metropolis of a State which had pronounced its adherence to the Union,—with the design of employing her own citizen-soldiery, armed with weapons partly furnished by, and partly stolen from, the nation of which they were citizens, to capture one of the nation's depots of

arms, for the purpose of turning its contents against the nation's life, and at the same time to protest innocence of any knowledge or thought of any such devilish scheme, was certainly one of the most daring exhibitions of mingled folly, treason, and falsehood, that the history of civilized nations records.

Had the Arsenal at that critical moment been under the command of one whose devotion to the institution of Slavery had perverted his intellectual and moral faculties to a belief in the damnable heresy of paramount allegiance to some slave State, no mortal ken could have foretold the disaster to Missouri and the Union, which would have followed with lightning speed upon the establishment of Camp Jackson, if, indeed, it had not preceded it. But, my friends, you, and I, and every inhabitant of our city and State, have reason for profound gratitude to Almighty God, that in his good providence an officer was there, whose allegiance to his country was not perverted by the miserable fooleries of State rights, whose eagle vision pierced through every traitorous disguise, whose bravery was equal to every emergency, and whose stern and steady adherence to duty defied all blandishments and all opposition. Let us bow with profound reverence at the name and memory of NATHANIEL LYON! [Great applause, and three cheers.] Brief as was his career in the fiery scenes of this satanic rebellion, it was illustrious in his steadfast devotion to the flag of his country, brilliant in his achievements under its resplendent folds, and glorious in its termination on one of the consecrated fields of America's bloody conflict for her life. No brighter name will emerge from the smoke and tumult of this awful strife—no nobler record will be transmitted from this evil day to our posterity, reading the luminous history of America's triumph over her intestine foes, than that which tells that LYON gave his life for, and in his will bequeathed all his estate to, his country! [Loud and continued applause.]

But let us not forget the "*malignant spirits*" who "determined that Camp Jackson should be attacked, and the citizen-soldiery taken prisoners of war." They, too, deserve our grateful remembrance. To their honor be it said, that if they were malignant, it was only against the enemies of their country, of their race, and of liberty. [Applause.] St. Louis may well be proud of such spirits, as all traitors have reason to fear them. Could this fiendish rebellion have been everywhere confronted in its inception by such, its life would have been short, and its destruction swift and sure.*

Nor let us be unmindful of the officers and soldiers, suddenly called and promptly rallying to the defense of their country's flag, who stood in stern array around Camp Jackson to enforce their Chief's demand for its surrender. Who were they? Whence came they? Almost to a man they were our own fellow-citizens of St. Louis, and *volunteers* for their country's defense, with hardly a battalion of regular troops among them. But "nine-tenths of them were born under a foreign flag, and had grown up acknowledging allegiance to the worst and most despotic governments of Europe;" and were *they* to be the instruments of "the degradation of citizens as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense, as brave and chivalric, as Captain Lyon, or any one of his advisers?" [Laughter.] My friends, I cannot stop to discuss relative terms of commendation or reproach. Enough, for shame, that Americans by birth were false to their country and its flag; enough, for rejoicing and pride, that Americans by adoption were true to both. The former, though my brother by blood, is my enemy, and I am his; the latter, though an alien by birth, becomes my brother by the holier tie of a common devotion to our noble country. [Continued applause.] All honor, then, say I, to the volunteer rank and file of the captors of Camp Jackson, and to the gallant officers under whom they marched, on the 10th of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-one. [Three cheers. Wild applause.]

I suppose, my friends, that I might here close my words, without seeming to fail in a due performance of the service assigned me. But my sense of duty does not so permit. Bear with me, then, yet a little longer—[Cries of "go on."]—while I present what seems to me a fit conclusion of this commemorative address.

You have listened to the history connected with Camp Jackson: let us now endeavor, with firm hand and steady heart, to portray the *significance* of Camp Jackson. It had an origin and a meaning, which no citizen of Missouri should fail to see and comprehend; and I should

those who were stigmatized as "*malignant spirits*," has been objected to by friends of both parties. I feel confident that any one of the gentlemen in question would consider that injustice had been done him by the omission, and much more do I feel assured that no one at present would believe me capable of intentionally withholding the full record of praise due him for his part in the important transactions I was reviewing. The single and only reason why I *named* to me but the benighted LYON was, that, as the whole responsibility of the conspiracy to Government, people, and history, rested on him alone, so he alone was entitled to the credit of breaking the achievement. Thus my view of the matter was suggested to me, while preparing the Oration, by an address which I held at important a session, both advisory and executive, near the person of LYON, before and at the time of the capture. It seemed to me, not only magnanimous but just, and I acted upon it in framing this passage of the discourse.

*Since the delivery of this Oration I have feared and that the omission to mention by name any of the par-

consider my duty unperformed, if I omitted to exhibit that origin and meaning; and that I ought to be branded as craven, if I shrunk from the effort to impress upon the minds of others the immovable convictions which have sunk, unsought and unforced, into my own.

Camp Jackson was not a mere manifestation of insurrectionary spirit against the Constitution and Government of the Union. That Constitution had brought only blessings to the citizen-soldiers there assembled—the hand of that Government had rested on them, only with a paternal touch. Not one of them could probably have been lured or forced into a revolt against the latter, for the sole purpose of resisting its authority; much less into an assault upon the former, wantonly to destroy it. To assume the possibility of either, would be to pronounce them born devils, intent, for its own sake, on a work of destruction, such as the universe never saw attempted since Lucifer struck at the throne of God. No: they were moved by a far different spirit, and were bent upon an object, which could be attained only by the overthrow of both Government and Constitution, and therefore they were ready to assail both. Let me unfold that object, in the light of a brief historical review of what has been done in the name of Missouri, in regard to the institution of Slavery.

As you are all aware, Missouri was brought into the family of the Union through a great conflict, growing out of her being a slave-holding State. The ferment attending that event led to the incorporation in her Constitution of provisions intended to fasten Slavery upon her permanently, and to preclude the agitation by her people, at any after period, of the question of its removal from her limits. The Constitution provided thus:

"The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws—

"First, For the emancipation of slaves, without the consent of their owners, or without paying them, before such emancipation, a full equivalent for such slaves so emancipated; and,

"Second, To prevent *bona fide* emigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein, from bringing from any of the United States, or from any of their Territories, such persons as may there be deemed to be slaves, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of this State."

Under the influence of these provisions, and of a large immigration from other slave States, Slavery remained predominant in Missouri, and no attempt was made to lead her people to consider whether it was their interest to retain it. In the progress of years the political power of Slavery began to develop itself in the country. From standing on the defensive, it assumed the aggressive, in connection with the question of its extension, with special reference to the out-

lying Territories of the Union. The right of Congress to pass any law prohibiting it there, came to be questioned, after an acquiescence in it, in every section, for many years. In 1849, the Legislature of this State under the lead of the same Claiborne F. Jackson, from whose deeds as Governor we have so deeply suffered, passed a series of "*Resolutions on the subject of Slavery*," ever since known by his name; in which the ground was assumed that "any organization of the territorial governments, excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such territories with their property, would be an exercise of power, by Congress, inconsistent with the spirit upon which our Federal compact was based, insulting to the sovereignty and dignity of the States thus affected, calculated to alienate one portion of the United States from another, and tending ultimately to disunion;" and in connection with this avowal was one more significant, concerning the relations of Missouri to the other slave States, in these terms:

"That in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, *Missouri will be found in hearty co-operation with the slaveholding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism.*"

In the light of subsequent history, we see now, what Missouri's great Senator, THOMAS H. BENTON, saw then—that those resolutions were a part of the scheme of disunion, which was then shaping itself in the South, and was so clearly seen by Mr. CALHOUN to be approaching its execution, that in commenting, in the Senate, upon President TAYLOR's reference to the Union, in his first and only annual message, he used these noted words:

"If (the Union) cannot then be saved by eulogies upon it, however splendid or numerous. The cry of '*Union, Union, the glorious Union!*' can no more prevent disunion, than the cry of '*Health, Health, glorious Health!*' on the part of the physician can save a patient from dying that is lying dangerously ill."

From the date of the adoption of the Jackson Resolutions, but more especially from that of the subsequent defeat of Col. BENTON's re-election to the Senate, at the expiration of a continuous service there of thirty years, Missouri seemed bound hand and foot to the South and to Slavery forever. And as if to make this doubly sure, the Legislature, eight years later, sought to crush the idea of *Emancipation*—then beginning to find expression in our midst—by the adoption of another resolution, which, with its preamble, was as follows:

"WHEREAS, Circumstances have rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our fellow-citizens of the State of Missouri, that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression of opinion

in regard to the subject of the emancipation of the slaves in the State :

"Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That the emancipation of the slaves held as property in this State would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of the State."

This resolution was passed in the Senate by a vote of 25 to 4, and in the House of Representatives by a vote of 107 to 12 ; six to one in the former—nine to one in the latter ! It was intended to throttle Emancipation in its cradle, and to rivet and clinch Slavery upon our people with an eternal clamp.

Here, my friends, I cannot resist the impulse to digress for a moment, to bring into view and proclaim the names of those four Senators and twelve Representatives, who, against such enormous odds, bravely wrote down on the records of their State their dissent from that sweeping blast against Emancipation. With two exceptions, they represented St. Louis County in that General Assembly. Let no frail memory of the people forget to honor the deed, or cease to bear in recollection that it was done by Senators HENRY T. BLOW, ROBERT HOLMES, CHARLES S. RANNELLS, and JOHN D. STEVENSON, and by Representatives BARTON ABLE, THOMAS J. ALBRIGHT, B. GRATZ BROWN, PATRICK E. BURKE, HENRY A. CLOVER, FRANKLIN A. DICK, BENJAMIN FARRAR, SAMUEL H. GARDNER, JESSE JENNINGS, of Taney, MADISON MILLER, JAMES O. SITTON, of Gasconade, and LEWIS WINKELMAIER. [Applause.]

Resuming the thread of history, we find that on the 12th of January, 1861, twenty-three days after South Carolina's ordinance of secession was passed, and while the roar of the secession torrade was resounding through the whole South, a meeting was held at the Court House in this city, which will be remembered as among the largest ever seen in this community. Its great magnitude, the expression it made concerning matters of infinite importance at that critical juncture, and the unhappy influence it exerted throughout this State, entitle it to a prominent position in the history of that period. It was heralded as a *Union* meeting; but God save us from such Unionism as it inculcated ! Passing by, as mere chaff, its empty professions of attachment to the Union, it is sufficient for the present occasion to exhume from its dead and buried proceedings a single resolution, as indicative of a then living and unshaken purpose to hold Missouri fast to Slavery, even if it led her into secession. No one who was known or suspected to be in favor of *Coercion*, as it was then opprobriously called,—that is, of sustaining the Government and Constitution, by every possible means and to the

almost extremity, against the destruction then threatening them,—was permitted to participate in the private preparations for the action of that meeting ; all of which were arranged in secret, by men whose deep and unscrupulous disloyalty afterwards became manifest ; some of whom, early in the rebellion, betrayed their country's cause for that of Slavery, by taking up arms in the rebel service, where, if yet living, they are still engaged. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that in such hands, the meeting became—what it never would have become, if the people of St. Louis had been advised of its real design—a powerful instrument of traitorous mischief in Missouri. How it became so, you will have no difficulty in perceiving when I recall to your recollection that one of its resolutions was the following :

"That the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such ought to be ever recognized by the Federal Government. That if the Federal Government shall fail and refuse to secure this right, the Southern States should be found united in its defense, in which act Missouri will share the common duties and common danger of the South."

This was, in effect, a revival in St. Louis of the Jackson Resolutions of 1849. It was the very embodiment of Southern sophistry, imperiousness, and treason. It opens with the utterly unfounded and fallacious dogma, that the possession of slave property is a "*constitutional right*," if reference is made to the Constitution of the United States; for that nowhere *confers*, but only *recognizes*, that right. It proceeds to declare the obligations of the Federal Government to recognize that right ; but as if, on "sober second thought," that was not enough, it next impliedly, but with all the force of a direct affirmation, declares the *duty* of that Government "to secure this right ;" when no man lives who can find in the National Constitution one word enjoining such a duty, except in regard to fugitive slaves; to which it is impossible reference could have been intended, because there then stood upon the statute books of the nation the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which had been prepared for, and dictated to, Congress, by the most radical, exacting, and overbearing champions of Slavery that the Southern States had ever sent to that body. And, finally, it closes with an undoubted committal of Missouri to secession, if the National Government refused or failed to perform this duty, which it was under no constitutional obligation to perform, except in the single particular of fugitive slaves, and for which, beyond that point, it had no semblance of constitutional power ! And this is what the people of St. Louis were by adroit management led to say ; but what they never would have said, had they in any degree understood the plot then thickening around them.

We need not be surprised to find that immediately after this demonstration in St. Louis, the Legislature of this State, in February, 1861, by a solemn resolution,—prompted, no doubt, as it was officially approved, by Governor Jackson, and adopting the policy which his resolutions, twelve years before, had foreshadowed—bound Missouri, so far as that body could bind it, to revolt against the Government of the United States and to disunion. Attend to this last expression of Missouri's Legislative traitors against their country, for the sake of Slavery :

"WHEREAS, We have learned, with profound regret, that the States of New York and Ohio have recently tendered men and money to the President of the United States, for the avowed purpose of coercing certain sovereign States of the South, which have seceded, or may secede from the Federal Union, into obedience to the Federal Government; therefore,

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, That we regard with the utmost abhorrence the doctrine of coercion, as indicated by the action of the States aforesaid, believing that the same would result in civil war, and forever destroy any hope of reconstructing the Federal Union. So believing, we deem it our duty to declare, that if there is any invasion of the SLAVE STATES, for the purpose of carrying such doctrine into effect, it is the opinion of this General Assembly that the people of Missouri will instantly rally on the side of their Southern brethren, to resist the invaders at all hazards and to the last extremity."

Thus ends the historical review, which was necessary to the proper understanding, in this day and in the future, of the origin and significance of Camp Jackson. In the light of the facts, as presented, I reiterate, that the formation of that camp proceeded from no mere hostility to the Constitution and Government of the Union; nor did it spring from any mischievous impulse for the mere sake of mischief; nor did it express any form of passionate popular outbreak; nor yet was it the offspring of any need or purpose to redress any grievance, or to avenge any wrong done in the name or by the authority of the United States, to the State of Missouri, or to any part of her people. In the name of Heaven, then, it may be asked, if it proceeded from none of these, what did it proceed from? My friends, look at the facts—at the formal declarations of the Legislature of Missouri and the words of Governor Jackson, as I have laid them before you; at his refusal of a single soldier to defend the Union against the rebellious and savage assault of the aristocracy of Southern Slavery, while, at the same instant, he called the militia of Missouri to arms; at the steady and overbearing effort of forty years to tie Missouri and Slavery together in indestructible bonds; at the solemn resolve that she should, in spite of her own declared will, make

common cause with the South, on the ground that "*the destiny of the slaveholding States of this Union is one and the same:*" look at these things, and say if in the whole wide field of human research or conjecture, you can find any other origin of Camp Jackson than in THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—[applause]—any other significance than that of a fierce and deliberate purpose to join the Southern aristocracy in their hellish attempt to strike down our glorious heritage of Freedom, for the sake of rearing over its ruins a bloody, aggressive, and relentless EMPIRE OF SLAVERY! [Continued applause.] This great truth concerning Southern treason should never for one moment be lost sight of. It struggled into the view of the people of Missouri through the heavy clouds of life-long association with, and attachment to, the "peculiar institution;" but it has emerged, at last, into the clear open sky, and shines into every habitation where Slavery is not enshrined as a household god, and into every mind which has not become hopelessly abject in its devotion to that god. The scales have fallen from the eyes of tens of thousands of that people—nay, from those of a vast majority—and they see, with startled gaze, that they have nursed in their bosom the only viper that could ever have inflicted upon them such deadly wounds, as have caused them for two long and terrible years to bleed at every pore. And they will never unlearn that truth. Every day disseminates it more widely, and makes it more powerful. As well attempt to roll back the Mississippi to its source, as to stem the mighty swell of that enfranchised opinion, which, throughout Missouri, presses home upon Slavery all the woes and tears, the ravages and dismay, which have made those two years hideous and insufferable to her people.

And, praised be God! with the growth of that liberated opinion has come the high and steady purpose that Missouri shall be liberated from her long thralldom to Slavery. [Rapturous applause.] We have borne and suffered enough from it and for it. Her people do not now believe—even if they ever did—what their Legislature declared in 1857, that "the emancipation of the slaves would be impracticable;" much less do they believe that "any movement having such an object in view, would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should be discountenanced." On the contrary, they are resolved not only to make such a movement, but to make it so that it shall never be unmade. [Cries of "good, good"] The power of their will makes itself felt in all places, high and low. Our Provisional Governor, who opened his Administration, in August, 1861,

with the proclamation that his selection for that office would "satisfy all that no countenance would be afforded to ANY SCHEME or to ANY CONDUCT calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of slavery existing in the State, and that to THE VERY UTMOST EXTENT OF EXECUTIVE POWER, THAT INSTITUTION WOULD BE PROTECTED," now calls the State Convention together, "to consult and act upon the subject of the EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES," because—and I thank him for the change!—he considers it "of the highest importance to the interests of the State that some scheme of Emancipation should be adopted." [Applause.] And mark you, when that body assembles, there will be no more "killing Emancipation at the first pop!" [Laughter and applause.] The subject will be discussed in all its bearings, freely and fearlessly; and my confidence is that "some scheme of Emancipation will be adopted." And yet it may be defeated there; but woe to them by whom it is defeated. [Great applause.] The people will not quietly submit to the thwarting of their will in 1863, by a body elected in 1861. [Applause.] If this Convention fails them, they will have another that will not. The time has gone by when a batch of leaders can control them on

this subject. The conviction is universal, that there is no more peace, and consequently no more prosperity, for our State, while Slavery sits firm on our soil, to kindle anew every day the fires of civil strife, and invite perpetual incursions from the South. [Vociferous applause.] They have been compelled to do their own fighting, and hereafter they will do their own voting, too. Let him who dares disregard their will concerning Emancipation! The Car of Jugger naut never rolled over its self-immolating devotee with more deadly crush, than will the public opinion of Missouri over every man that ventures that experiment. ["Good."] Let men idolize and cling to Slavery as they please, Emancipation in Missouri is already decreed: the Convention has only to record the decree. [Loud and continued applause.] Not by some feeble scheme, winding up in the Twentieth Century; but by some wise, equitable, and well-considered plan, worthy of humanity and of statesmanship, which shall bring to this generation, through Emancipation, some recompense for the horrible ills it has endured through Slavery. Let this be done, and, with God's blessing, all will yet be well with us and with our children! [Loud and long continued applause.]

REPLY TO THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.

Mr. N. Paschall, Editor of the Missouri Republican:

SIR: You would hardly expect, nor would the community, that the bitter personal attack upon me in the leading editorial article of the *Republican* of Wednesday, should pass unnoticed by me. I shall notice it and you, in such manner as duty to the public seems to me to require; not because I have the least need to vindicate myself before the people of St. Louis from such aspersions as those with which you have deliberately severed the ties of many years' association and friendship. Though I may have no "celebrity," and though for whatever of "notoriety" I possess, I may, as you claim, be indebted to the *Missouri Republican*, you will probably find that I have a foundation of character here, which will withstand this assault, or any that the *Republican* may hereafter make. If I have not, truly the best years of my life have been lived here in vain.

In one respect, Sir, I shall not imitate your course toward me. You denounce me for the Oration which I delivered last Monday, but do not publish it, so that your readers may judge between us. You did not *relish the resuscitation there of the Republican's history, which fidelity to truth required*. In this reply I shall not follow your example, by withholding from those who may read my words the opportunity at the same time of reading yours. I have no record which I fear should be brought to light, nor do I shrink from telling the world what is said against me. You shall, therefore, have all the benefit here of every word of it. Here it is:

"MR. CHARLES D. DRAKE.

"For whatever of position this gentleman may have in this community, we think it may safely be assumed he is indebted to the sustaining influence and exertions of this paper in his behalf; and hence the public who are alive to this fact, will be surprised at the bitterness of invective in which he indulged in his Oration at Camp Jackson grounds last Monday. We are not going to open the wounds scarcely cicatrized, nor to discuss the propriety of the military movements originated by Mr. (now Gen.) F. P. Blair, whose name, strangely enough, was scarcely heard in the proceedings of Monday, for the simple reason that he is not now Radical enough for the time, and is in the field fighting the battles of his country, while those who are politically opposed to him are using *his* thunder to destroy him. When this civil war has been brought to an end, and time and history have done their office in recording all the facts connected with the rebellion, and the incidents preceding and growing out of it—when to each party and every individual engaged in it, whether high or low, in civil or military life—is assigned his particular place in the grand drama which has convulsed the Union—those who come after us will be better prepared to understand the motives and the actions of men. Here we leave this branch of the subject, only to recur to Mr. Drake himself. This gentleman, as we have said above, is more indebted to us for the notoriety—it would be a misnomer to call it celebrity—which he enjoys, than to all other causes combined. When those who are now petting him

were cursing him, and heaping epithets of the most opprobrious character upon him, in the spirit of a persistent friendship we came to his rescue and defended him from their reproaches. Whenever an opportunity offered to advance his interests, none were more prompt to do it. Confessedly the most unpopular man in St. Louis, politically, professionally, and socially, this did not prevent us from interposing our influence in his behalf, and when, three or four years ago, he was, by our assistance, elected to the Legislature—the only place of trust he ever acquired directly from the people—he had not been in his seat a month before he broke down under the weight of his own measures of social reform, and he was only tolerated for the remainder of the session. The *Democrat*, now fulsome in its praise of him, then ridiculed and denounced him unmercifully. The *German press*, now referring to him complacently, never alluded to his course in the Legislature except in language of abuse to which there was no license. Those with whom he is now hob-nobbing, and is apparently on the best terms of social intercourse, were then held up by him to public ridicule for their Sunday diversions, and their wives and daughters presented in most revolting situations. The debates on this subject between Mr. Drake and Mr. Kribben, can hardly be forgotten by those who read them at the time. That session of the legislature unhorsed Mr. D. as a politician forever, and although he has since sought place, even that of Senator in Congress, nobody has yet been found willing to hazard his reputation by putting him in nomination. Changing from party to party until he has run through the whole catalogue and become a Charcoal, his accession has always been the signal for defeat and disaster, and the Charcoals themselves may well tremble for their success hereafter. Faithless to his friends, it is not surprising that distrust of his motives should follow his every movement. Disappointed in all the aspirations of a selfish ambition—a failure in everything—it is not to be wondered at that he has hardened his heart, and become callous to all the impulses of a high-minded gentleman and Christian. We quit him here."

Can it be, Mr. Paschall, that no sense of shame, no twinge of conscience, disturbed you while you penned those ungracious words? Is it possible that you did not perceive how open they laid you to retort? Is it, indeed, true that your usual good sense has, in your advanced years, forsaken you? I will not bandy epithets with you; but I may be permitted respectfully to suggest, that if that editorial indicates the amount of candor, truthfulness, and sagacity, which is hereafter to characterize the *Republican*, it were well for those interested in its publication to consider the expediency of your retirement to the shades of private life. The loyal citizens of St. Louis have long had a very definite opinion on that point, which may have found some little expression at Camp Jackson last Monday. Perhaps that was the sting of that day to you, Mr. Paschall.

You assume in the outset, that the public will "be surprised at the bitterness of invective in which I indulged in my Oration at Camp Jackson grounds last Monday." What "bitterness of invective" did I indulge in there, Mr. PASCHALL? Against the *Missouri Republican*, or you, or any one connected with it? Not a word of such can be found in the Oration. I mentioned your paper historically and respectfully; my invective was against the traitors in Camp Jackson two years ago. That

invective you resent. Do you thereby intend to affirm, or admit, that there was at that time in Camp Jackson any one connected with the *Republican* who deserved that title? I did not so affirm; but have you not impliedly done so, by resenting my invective against the traitors there? Or do you mean to be understood, at this day and in this city, as defending those traitors still, as you did immediately after their capture? If you do, I can only pity the infatuation which still binds you to an ignoble and desperate cause.

Whether I am "indebted to the sustaining influence and exertions" of the *Republican* "for whatever position I may have in this community," I leave to that community to say. I have endeavored to lead in St. Louis an upright life. If, in the estimation of her people, I have done so, I needed not the *Republican's* "influence and exertions," or those of any other paper, to give me "position," if I have not, and the *Republican*, notwithstanding, wielded its influence to give me "position" of which I was unworthy, what shall be said of the *Republican*, and of you, its editor? But, Sir, no human being in this city believes, or ever will believe, that your paper has given me the standing I now occupy, whatever it may be, in this city. All I have gained here, socially or professionally, I have labored for through many years of toilsome devotion to duty. For you to claim to have given me position here, only makes people who know you and me laugh at you, Mr. PASCHALL.

But, sir, when and where were "the sustaining influence and exertions" of your paper put forth on my behalf for my sake? Acknowledging many acts of kindness received from the *Republican*, I affirm that all the influence it ever exerted to give me position, was exerted that your own views and plans in regard to public affairs, and the prosperity of the paper you conducted, might be better promoted. You sustained me as long as I sustained you—not a moment before, not a moment after; and you did it in order more effectually to sustain yourself. For your paper, as many well know. I have, first and last, performed many months of gratuitous, exhausting, and, to you, ever acceptable labor, of which the world knew nothing, except as it appeared in your editorial columns, and augmented their influence over your readers. That those labors were not without direct and lasting benefit to you, no man living knows better than yourself; that their benefit to me, if any, was only incidental, never pecuniary, no man knows better than I do. If the *Republican* helped to give me position, I helped to give it position. You profit substantially every day by my past efforts on your behalf, put forth at one period, as you well know, when you were reduced to positive bankruptcy; I profit not one penny by the position which you imagine you have given me.

You claim a credit to yourself, in no sense your due, when you use the following words:

"When those who are now petting him were cursing him, and heaping epithets of the most opprobrious character upon him, in the spirit of a persistent friendship we came to his rescue, and defended him from their reproaches."

No such state of things has at any time existed during my residence in this city, except in connection with my service in the Legislature; and my memory fails to recall one line in the *Republican* defending me then. You are not accustomed, Mr. PASCHALL, as this community knows, to espouse the cause of a falling

man, or to identify your paper with an "unhorsed politician." If, however, you came to my rescue at that period, it was not because you remembered kindly that I had, to the extent of my ability, come to your aid in the days of your adversity, nor because you cared a straw what befell me: but because it suited your purpose as a partisan editor, to sustain one who belonged to your own party, and whose overthrow could confer no benefit upon that party, but perhaps injury.

But in spite of all the position you have conferred upon me, it seems that I am "confessedly the most unpopular man in St. Louis, politically, professionally, and personally!" How poorly, Mr. PASCHALL, that fact, if true, speaks for your influence and that of your paper in this city! Is it possible that all your efforts to write me up, have only resulted in writing me down? If so, am I under obligations to you for your "persistent friendship?" But you did not talk or think that way, when, in 1859, in order to secure a Democratic triumph, you induced me, against my inclination, and to the serious injury of my private interests, to suffer myself to be announced as a candidate for the Legislature, only four days before the election; much less when I beat my competitor more than 1,800 votes! Still, it may be true now; and if it is, I can only say that at no period of my life has popularity been my aim. I desire the approbation of my fellow-citizens; but only so far as it may be earned by an honest and steady adherence to what I believe to be right, regardless of personal consequences to myself; and I think the people of St. Louis believe this of me, whether I am popular with them or not. Do they believe so of you, Mr. PASCHALL?

Prominent among your flings at me is, that "changing from party to party until I have run through the whole catalogue, and become a Charcoal, my accession has always been the signal for defeat and disaster." If this be true, Mr. PASCHALL, pray how has it been with you and the *Republican*? We were together Sir, from 1834 to 1861. Were the defeats and disasters of the parties with which we were connected, and for which we jointly labored, during those twenty-seven years, all owing to me, a private citizen, and none to you, the editor of a widely-circulated and powerful journal? You did not say or think this, in August, 1860, when you introduced my Victoria speech in favor of Mr. DOUGLAS to your readers, as the very ablest campaign document ever produced in this country, and announced that you would print 50,000 copies of it, in pamphlet form, for sale; nor in November following, when, as I believe, largely through the instrumentality of that speech, Missouri was found to be the only State in the Union that gave an electoral vote to Mr. DOUGLAS, except the fractional vote he received in New Jersey.

In fact, Mr. PASCHALL, it is only since December, 1860, that you have discovered my unpopularity. On the 31st of that month—as I showed in the Oration last Monday—you shocked the loyal portion of this community beyond expression, by committing the *Republican* to the cause of Secession. No man in St. Louis felt the shock more keenly than I did; for, for nearly two months before the Presidential election in November, your editorial columns received almost daily from me contributions attacking Secession and defending the Union, into which I threw all the power of my mind, all

the vigor of my pen, and all the force of the undying love for the Union, which then, as now, fired my whole nature. And more than this. The Victoria speech, which you extolled so highly, exposed in advance the very scheme of disunion which South Carolina carried out on the 20th of December. In the face of all this, on the 31st of that month, the *Republican* stood before the world the advocate of the secession of Missouri! I felt at the time almost as if hell had yawned before me. From that day our paths have diverged, never, I suppose, to meet again. You took your stand against your country—I took mine for it. You struck hands with traitors—I have fallen into association with those, between whom and myself there had previously been sharp political antagonism. I have not stopped for an instant to inquire whether the *Democrat* had "ridiculed and denounced" me, nor whether the German press had used toward me "language of abuse." All I sought to know was, where the friends of my country and the defenders of the Union could be found; and never, since that day, have I found or heard of one connected with the editorial management of the *Republican*. Nor have I ever stopped to inquire whether I am popular with the Union men of St. Louis. Having never asked, and never intending to ask, the least favor at their hands, or those of the people of Missouri,—it being especially false that I have sought to be Senator in Congress,—the question of my popularity is the very last that has engaged my attention. I am not, however, unaware that with traitors and Missouri *Republican* Unionists I am unpopular; and God forbid it should ever be otherwise! Such unpopularity I joyfully accept, as the highest evidence that I have done something for my country—the richest treasure of my remaining years, the most precious legacy I can bequeath to my children. Can you, dare you, Mr. PASCHALL, say as much of the popularity you receive at their hands?

There was a wondrous temerity, as well as most egregious folly, in your attack upon me. You forgot that the record of the *Republican* since the 31st of December, 1860, is written indelibly in the memory of the loyal people of St. Louis, and that my course during that period is well known to them. You forgot that not only did you on that day sound the first secession blast heard in Missouri, in response to South Carolina's fiendish invocation to the slave States; but for months after that day, and until the apprehension of the suppression of the *Republican* by military power overcame your real impulses, and compelled you to assume the mask of a thin and perfidious loyalty, that sheet was the most artful and dangerous enemy the National Government and the Union had in the whole Valley of the Mississippi. You forgot, what I do not forget, that its columns were loaded from day to day with everything, original and selected, which tended to impair the confidence of the people in the Government, and weaken their attachment for the Union and their faith in its triumph over its enemies. You forgot that the frown of the *Republican* was upon every man believed to be unconditionally loyal, while its smiles were radiant upon those known to be feeble and shaky Unionists, or traitors in heart; so that, at last, no man's reputation for sincere and earnest loyalty survived your praise. You forgot that the *Republican* became the organ of every exaggerated complaint which open traitors or skulking bushwhackers and their friends,

throughout the State, wished to pour into the public ear, against the efficient action of the military forces, pursuing them to their overthrow. You forgot that the monster meeting at the Court House in this city, on the 12th of January, 1861, which, with hollow pretensions of Unionism, was in reality a secession demonstration, was your work, called by you, managed by your influence, and glorified by you in the *Republican*. You forgot the *Republican's* denunciation and defiance of President Lincoln's call, after the bombardment of Sumter, for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, your commendation of Governor Jackson for his refusal of Missouri's quota of four regiments under that call, and your impudent declaration that the people of Missouri would indorse that refusal. You forgot that the *Republican* gave unmistakable evidence of gratification at the Bull Run disaster to the army of the Union. You forgot its insane fury over the suppression, by military force, of that treasonable sheet, the *Missouri State Journal*. But why should I undertake to enumerate the atrocious sins of the *Republican*, since December, 1860, against the Constitution, the Union, and the Government, as well as against loyalty, patriotism, and truth? Are they not history, which can never be erased? Are they not held in public remembrance, with a tenacity which only the lapse of many years can weaken? They make such a record against you, Mr. PASCHALL, and against the *Republican*, as I would not have against me, for the payment down to-day, of a sum of money equal to the anticipated profits of the *Republican* office for a hundred years to come. The thirty pieces of silver for which Judas Iscariot betrayed his Lord, did not keep down the pangs of remorse, under which "he went and hanged himself."

There is, however, Mr. PASCHALL, one sin lying at your door, which I owe it to the public and to the cause of historic truth to make a distinct mention of. In my address last Monday, I stated that I believed I was right in saying that the letter of General Frost to Governor Jackson, which I then read, had never been published in the columns of the *Republican*. Your reporter, in his account of the proceedings on that day, said that statement was "at war with the truth of history—said letter having appeared in the columns of the *Republican* on several occasions." It has since been stated to me, that during the late session of the Legislature of this State, in February perhaps, R. F. WINGATE, Esq. incorporated that letter in a speech he delivered there, which was published in your paper. If that information is correct, you are entitled to the benefit of it, such as it is, and I give it to you here. But, Sir, there is a wide difference between publishing such a document, as a matter of public information, at the time it comes to light, and publishing it in somebody's speech, eighteen months afterward. I charge you, Mr. PASCHALL, with deliberately keeping that letter out of the *Republican*, as an item of information to your readers, from the day it transpired to this, with the intention that those who had read your vindication of Camp Jackson, in May, 1861, should never learn through your agency of the existence of a document, which proved that vindication false in its essential features, and you could not help knowing it to be when you wrote it. You will not forget, Sir, a conversation on the street between you and myself about that letter, when it appeared in the other paper

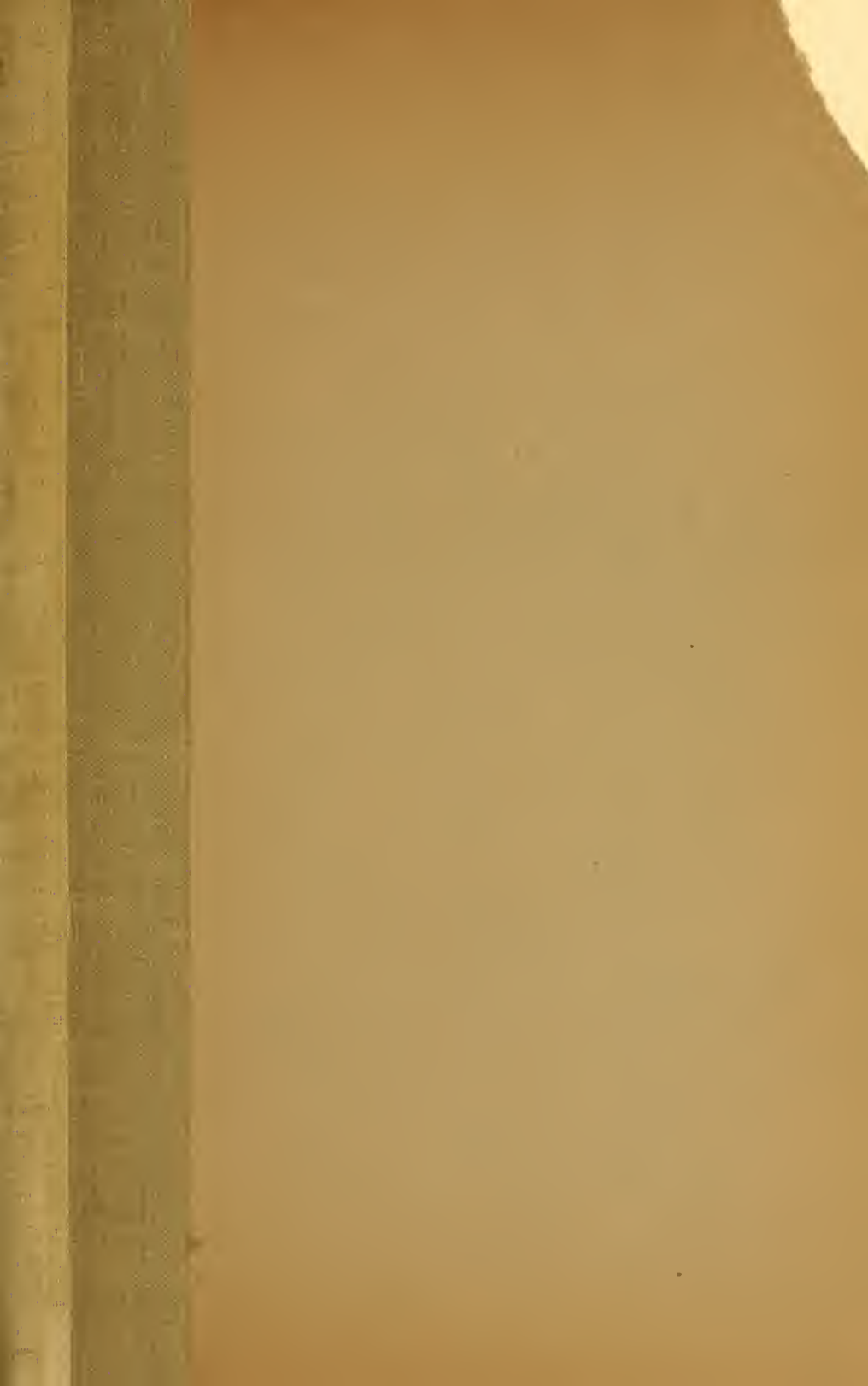
of this city. I asked you why you did not publish it in the *Republican*? You replied—"I have no quarrel with Gen. Frost!" And when I urged that that was not the question, and that the letter ought to be published there, as an important part of the history of the day, you replied again—"Well, I don't like the way they got possession of it!" And those were the reasons you assigned, with steady face, for withholding from your readers, so far as your silence could, all knowledge of that document! This single fact, Sir, should dim your paper in the eyes of all patriots and all honest men; as I well know its promulgation will exalt and glorify you in those of all Copperheads and traitors.

And now, Sir, in conclusion, I recommend you to a more careful study of your position and that of the *Republican*, in this city and State. Realize, if you can, that you are both on the down-hill grade. The secession cause, which you espoused on the 31st of December, 1860, and have never since, in heart, abandoned for a moment, whatever may have been the outward seeming of your paper, is going down down, down! and take heed that you do not go down with it! You have not breathed one truly loyal breath, nor has one truly loyal number of your paper been published, since that day. Had justice been meted out to the *Republican*, as it was to the *Journal* and the *Herald*, it would long since have been suppressed, and you, perhaps, again a bankrupt. You owe, this day, a life-long debt of gratitude to the military authorities for their forbearance. You have done more to excite and foster treason and disloyalty in Missouri, than any hundred men in it; for you governed an engine of tremendous power. There is an immeasurable distance between the evil you have done, and the good you might have done, with it. Had you, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, kept the same high ground of devotion to the Union, which you suffered me to take in your columns before that event, how noble and exalted would have been your position, how full of blessing to your country, and how much bloodshed would have been saved in Missouri, whose stain, I greatly fear, is on your skirts!

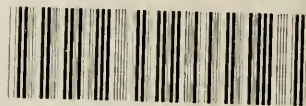
You, Mr. PASCHALL, have long wielded a potent influence in Missouri; but it can reach patriots no more. The time is past when the *Republican* can write any loyal man down, or any disloyal man up. I neither fear its hostility nor court its favor. I will go on my way combating treason and disloyalty, traitors and Copperheads, falsehood and hypocrisy, come what may to me. You may go on yours, denouncing me, and those like me in devotion to country; ignoring every noble development of patriotism; giving conspicuousness to all insidious incitements to disloyalty; striking at all who do not cling to Slavery in its damnable crusade against the Union and liberty; chuckling over "the killing of Emancipation at the first pop;" and sneering at every prayerful appeal of an afflicted people to the Throne of Mercy for the overthrow of this savage rebellion; but all will come to an end ere long, and our respective records of life will be closed, and passed to the Judgment seat on high. Mine, I trust, will be that of one who strove with his best ability and truest heart to be a patriot. Have you no fears, Mr. PASCHALL, that yours may be that of an able, wily, and unscrupulous TRAITOR?

C. D. DRAKE.

ST. LOUIS, May 14, 1863.



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